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"Nothing is more clearly written in the Book of Destiny, than the Emancipation of the Blacks; and it is equally certain that the two races will never live in a state of equal freedom under the same government, so insurmountable are the barriers which nature, habit and opinion have established between them." JEFFERSON.

MR. REEDER'S REPORT.

We invite the attention of our readers to the report of a select committee of the House of Delegates on the subject of the removal of the free coloured population from Charles county, and to the Bill accompanying the same.

It is not our purpose to discuss the views and positions assumed in the report, or the justice or expediency of the bill. We view the report of importance, as showing how deeply the feeling pervades the farming interest, (for the writer we believe is a practical farmer of Charles county,) THAT SOMETHING MUST BE DONE WITH REGARD TO THE COLOURED POPUTION. It is becoming more and more apparent, every day, to all classes of people that the two races cannot exist in the same land. The nearer they approach numerical, social or political equality, the nearer they approach that crisis which must drive the one race from the field. It is the universal impression that *something* must be done.

Every year, as new members are elected to the Legislature, we find some new plan proposed, some new project started; but the more the subject is agitated, the more deliberation is bestowed upon it, the more certainly all come to the conclusion, that the Colonization system as adopted in 1831, and successfully prosecuted since, is the best, and the *only feasible* plan. As to the bill proposed by the committee, it is certainly objectionable in one particular, viz. in being restricted in its action to one county or section of the state. The whole matter of the coloured population, their residence here or removal by colonization, is one affecting the whole state alike, should be acted upon by and for the whole state alike, and should be confined to one state and be made and ever continued until finally disposed of, a subject for independent state action.

Let the system so successfully prosecuted for the past ten years by Maryland, but be adopted by other slaveholding states, let them act, in concert if they will, but still act *independently*, let them adopt the principle assumed by this report, that the nominally free coloured population are proper subjects of legislative action, and let all legislative action thereon as in Maryland be such as will tend to their *ultimate good;* let this policy be persevered

in, and rendered permanent, and there cannot be a doubt of its success; the country will be saved,—the Union preserved,—the suffering and degraded coloured man will be freed from his thraldom, and guide the destinies of his father-land,—the slave trade will be abolished,—Africa with her millions of human beings become regenerated and civilized,—and Maryland will have the honour of leading in an enterprise productive of results so truly philanthropic and glorious.

Report from the Select Committee, to whom was referred the subject of the Removal of the Free Colored Population from Charles County.

"The committee to whom was referred the subject of the removal of the free colored population from Charles county, beg leave to report; that they have examined into the subject, as accurately as possible. They have procured information from every accessable source, to show the necessity of their removal. They are of the firm conviction that the moral, political and fiscal interests of the State are materially affected by their condition among us; and although the immediate object of consideration, is their removal from Charles county, yet the subject is of such interest as to induce them to extend the examination of the subject to the entire State; whatever may be found to be their condition in the State, will be found to be their condition in each of the counties.

"It is doubtless the desire of all persons of the State, that they should be removed; and the committee are clearly of opinion that their condition could not be rendered worse, no matter to what region of country they may be removed, or by what process that removal might be effected. There exists however, a difference of opinion, as to the mode by which they shall be removed, and whether we should incur any additional expense, in effecting that object, and to what place they are to be carried, are questions yet to be decided. There are many, perhaps, who doubt the power of the Legislature to compel them to remove; and there are others, who entertain scruples on the ground of humanity.

"The object of the committee, will be as far as practicable to reconcile conflicting opinions, and to devise a mode of removal by which all doubts and difference of opinion may be reconciled or removed.

"It is our decided opinion, for various reasons, that they should be removed, not only from Charles county, but from the State. The committee think in truth, that for social and intellectual improvement, they ought to be transported from America, beyond the Atlantic Ocean; and that Liberia or Maryland in Africa, is the proper place in which they should be settled. The committee will now give their reasons for this conviction; and for that purpose, we will show the means of transportation, and the resources that will be placed in their power in Africa, arising from the fertility of the region to which they will be removed, the natural advantages to be enjoyed from a fortunate or favorable location, a congenial climate, and the full means there will exist, that they may become a great, prosperous and happy people; and furnish a solution of the problem, as to the capacity of the black species of the human race, for high moral and intellectual improvement.

"For the purposes of showing the agricultural and other resources of the colony, the committee will quote from various and unquestionable authority.

"The present productions of our territory, are: "cassada, rice, yams, janis, plantain, banana, sweet potatoes, sugar cane, egg plant, beside some excellent varieties of the pea; ground and malagetta pepper, many varieties of the prune and fig. These are all produced and cultivated by the natives in great abundance; and to these may be added all the garden and field

vegetables, as beans, peas, turnips, indian corn, squashes, beets, carrots, parsnips, cabbages, onions, melons, lettuce, cucumbers and tomatoes. These are all now growing in almost every garden on the cape, and more luxuriantly than I ever witnessed in any part of the world. I have long since (two weeks at least,) had my table supplied with summer squashes, beets, cucumbers and melons, from our own gardens; and but three months have expired since we first broke ground. As it regards animal food, we are equally well supplied. There is no part of the coast which furnishes such beef. I never before saw so fine in any tropical country, nor any more fat even in the Boston market; sheep and goats are equally abundant, as also, the muscovey duck and fowls. In this our purchase, we have every natural advantage possible to favor the promotion of agriculture, and we only require industry, proper direction and guidance to render this a wealthy and flourishing colony. The labor of one man in good health, six months in the year, will produce vegetables for six adults and in greater abundance and variety than the average of wealthy farmers in New England enjoy." Dr. Hall's letter to Mr. Latrobe in 1834.

"The growth of all garden and field vegetables so far as they have been tried, is very rapid and luxuriant. All the gardens on the cape were in a thriving condition. I should say that a square of the size of the common gardens in this country, would yield a sufficiency of vegetables to support a family of from six to eight persons in number. The articles growing on the cape, are the following, viz: sousop, oranges, lemons, limes, pine apples, goard pauposes, plantain, banana, pepper, figs, okra, indian corn, sugar cane, cotton, both native and American cabbage, kale, Virginia greens, lettuce, parsley, beets, sweet and Irish potatoes, yams, cassada, parsnips, turnips, radishes, onions, tomatoes, beans and peas, of different kinds, melons, canteleups, cucumbers, squashes, pumpkins, egg plant and tobacco. There is a continual growth of these articles, and some of them produce for years successively. The soil though apparently of the same quality of the Maryland good lands, seems nevertheless to be much more productive; and being remarkably easy of cultivation, would soon return a rich reward to industrious farmers.

"The animals of the country suitable for food, are quite numerous; neat cattle, sheep, hogs, goats and deer are very plenty. In conclusion permit me to say, that the climate for the colored people, the soil and productions of Maryland in Liberia, can only be justly appreciated by those who have visited the country. One half the labor necessary in this country to enable the colored man barely to live, will secure for him in the colony the greatest abundance of the necessaries of life and many of the luxuries. The climate to his constitution is as congenial as the climate of Maryland." Mr. Gould's report in 1835, to the President and Board of Managers of the Maryland State Colonization Society.

"Since the last annual report large acquisitions of territory have been made, around the settlement at Cape Palmas, and the State Society now owns both sides of the Cavally, a broad and noble river, from its mouth to the town of Denah, about thirty miles from the ocean. Dr. Hall ascended the river to the cataract, and describes the country as of inexhaustible fertility, and beautiful in the extreme in appearance." From the annual report of the Board of Managers to the Colonization Society in 1837.

"The State Society holds, that generally speaking, the condition of the emancipated slave, should he remain in this country, is much worse than that of the same individual before he obtained his freedom; because here, the presence of a race, with which he cannot amalgamate and with whom rests all power, operates to depress his energies and prevent the expansion of his intellect; the highest rank he can ever expect to attain is a degraded

one; and deprived of all those incentives of honourable ambition which ordinarily operate so powerfully and with such effect, he falls almost immediately after emancipation, into the paths of vice, and hurries along them to an early grave. The society believe, from close observation, for many years, that the position here assumed is incontrovertible."—Extract from the Report of the Board of Managers of the State Fund, December 30th, 1843.

"This last extract ought to be regarded as high authority, in relation to the condition of the free negro; it was with them the result of observation, examination and comparison; and there are few who will not readily concur in this opinion, as it has been a subject of experience for many years. There could be no impropriety in executing the provisions of the bill reported by the committee against them.

"The committee will now proceed to show the amount of the population of Maryland, from 1790 to 1840—its increase and decrease in the entire state, and in the several counties, and of each species of population separately."

[The Tables of Statistics here introduced in the Report, together with a list of emigrants, of the various expeditions, &c. having been heretofore published in the Journal, are now omitted.]

"It cannot be ascertained from any data within the power of the committee, how much each colonist has cost for his transportation and settlement. It is stated in the statement furnished in compliance with a call of the house, that there has been *one hundred and twelve thousand five hundred and thirty-seven dollars and four cents*, expended in their removal, and it is stated that there are *eight hundred* colonists on the *coast* of Africa. It cannot be told whether all the money above named was expended in transporting the eight hundred, or whether some of those were not conveyed by other means. Nor is it stated how many have been conveyed from any one county on the funds above named, or whether a part of those carried out were not carried by some other means than that of the State funds, or of the funds of the Colonization Society. It is urged with great earnestness by Mr. Latrobe, the President, that the existing law should not be disturbed—because the colony is now on a permanent footing—can protect itself against the natives, and are so improving in all respects, but more particularly in agriculture, as to greatly facilitate the location and settlement of other colonists; and that if they were left now unprotected and unaided by the repeal of the existing law, colonization might find its immediate termination, and those on the coast might from some cause perish.

"The committee have no desire to repeal the existing law unless a better and more efficient one could be devised. They most ardently desire to promote colonization—on account of the free negro, because his condition would be improved by it—and because we should be relieved of the bitterest curse that ever blighted the moral, intellectual and agricultural interests of any people.

"It will be seen by the report, that the free negroes have increased much more rapidly than the free white population—indeed with an alarming rapidity. The slave population has varied in number during different years, from thirty up to forty, when there is a material deficiency—while the free negroes have grown in number with a steady and rapid increase—according to the old maxim, that all "ill weeds grow apace."

"There are certainly some important considerations suggested by this rapid increase of the free negroes, compared with the very slow increase of the white population in some parts of the State, and owing to its rapid decrease in other parts of the State except for Baltimore city, the population

of Maryland would have, at this time, little exceeded her population in 1790. In some of the counties the increase is very small, while in some the decrease is rapid and lamentable. Thus in Charles county, the white population is but little more than half what it was when the census was taken in 1790. The free colored population, in the same county, has more than doubled. In Prince George's, it is the same case—that the same decrease of white population is a lamentable fact. It is equally true, to a certain extent in all the lower counties. In all the lower counties there is the same rapid increase of the free colored population.

"This is a subject of serious consideration to the lower counties, and to it their attention is specially invited—indeed they are warned against it. In Prince George's, the free colored population in 1790, was 164. It was in 1840—1,080. In Charles county in 1790, it was 404, and 1840 it was 119.

"Some important deductions may be made from this fact—and unfortunately these deductions must be greatly to our discomfiture. There can be no stronger evidence of the decay of a country in resources, and particularly in agriculture, than a decrease in its population. All writers on the wealth of nations agree, that an increase of population is to be attributed to the fertility of the soil—or rather to an abundance derived from that source. It produces a disposition to marriage, which is of course the source of the populousness of nations.

"Making an application of this principle, how lamentable a decay must the lower counties have undergone, and indeed, nearly the whole State has more or less, participated in this process of decay; and an evidence of the truth, to a certain extent, of what we advance may be found in the fact, that the newer counties have increased when their lands are rich—as Allegany.

"But it is evidence of decay in morals, and of consequence in intellect. It may be laid down as a rule, that the agricultural condition of a country, is the evidence of the moral and intellectual condition. Thus if all the lands cleared in Charles county, should be ploughed up, properly prepared, and sowed in grain, the produce would be the measure of the morals of the county. Thus if the produce was three bushels for one, the annual yield of the morals of the county will be three bushels for one. This is the doctrine of Christ in the parable, when he illustrates the condition and produce of the Word, by the income from different soils—some yielding one number of bushels, and some another. We know there are objections to this mode of reasoning—because it is said, that in some rich regions of country there is great dissipation and immorality. This may be the case, when individuals come into the possession of lands early, and without the labor of improving them. If for instance, a colony could be planted on a fertile spot of earth, they would be thrown into a state of wealth without the labor of acquisition, and from that source would come high living. Our forefathers are an example, for they had new and rich lands, and consequently lived high, and we are reaping the fruits—the invariable fruits of high living.—But the rule will ever be found to hold good, where the country has been long enough settled to form the habits, customs and pursuits of a people—and you have then a means of ascertaining the moral condition by the agricultural—whether it be progressively improving under system, industry and intelligence, or whether it is not annually retrograding.

"It may be said, that a poor man is as capable of morality as the rich. This is all true. The early Romans show this, but though they were reckoned poor, yet were they rich, because they relied on agriculture *entirely*, and lived in great abundance; and illustrates our principle exactly; for no people were ever more moral, and none were ever better agriculturists—

and their agricultural systems were durable and improving, and thereby give evidence of the state of morals.

"When lands are stationary in value, or of uncertain value—sometimes improving, sometimes depreciating—and the neighborhood is poor, it may be placed on the order of the wild horses of the West. They exhibit great order, and are orderly in their conduct, yet no one would desire such morals as they possess. The ignoble herd of drones might afford some idea of the condition of morals among a people, who have been long settled, have no improving system of agriculture. Their lands are poor, and in condition neither ascend nor descend, but in a long course of time are dubious as to their value.

"It cannot, in form, be denied, but that many of the counties of this State, judging from the rule already laid down as true, have retrograded. This rule of the increase and decrease of population may be regarded as infallible. It is a question whether all Maryland has not rapidly and greatly retrograded, and to a lamentable extent. From the data furnished, it will be seen, except for Baltimore, we should have lost in population. In order then to ascertain whether the increase of population in Baltimore, is evidence of improvement, and we are improving, it should be ascertained whether the increase of her population has been from the agricultural resources of the State, or whether from the resources of other regions brought into the State—if the latter, then we have retrograded throughout the State—if the former, we may to some extent have improved—though that improvement may have concentrated in Baltimore, and become a monopoly from the action of our system, or the casual current of trade. It is not impossible but, that a system of internal improvement might make Baltimore a great and flourishing city, while the rest of the State would be, as to her agricultural and other conditions, in a truly deplorable state—from the fact, that by a sufficient supply of external produce, though nominally belonging to Maryland, Baltimore would be the great commercial city of a foreign country.

"The committee think that the removal of the free negroes would exert a powerful influence towards improving our moral condition, and thence our agricultural and other conditions. As they now are, they do not cultivate property and improve any part of the earth; but wherever they settle they act as a certain exhauster of the earth. But the free negroes act upon agriculture by another process, which though indirect is yet nevertheless, perhaps, the more powerful.

"It will, perhaps, not be denied that intelligence is one of the essentials to a good system of agriculture. The free negroes are brutally ignorant and influenced by no pride of character. They find no identity of feeling with any part of the population of the State, except indeed it be those who, though imbibe, are in an identical condition. There is an attraction between things of the same character, and a repulsion between things of opposite qualities, viewed thus it will be found, that the poor white classes of the population, would be drawn more strongly to the free colored population, than to the wealthier white classes; and there will be found a stronger attraction between the free colored population, and the poorer classes of the population of the State, than between the slaves and free negroes, from the fact that the latter are placed in a greater dissimilarity of condition. It will be found, also, that the character of the white mechanic is much injured and his means of living and independence impaired by the existence among us of the free negroes. The latter seek employment on very moderate terms, execute badly, and expend their earnings in immoral pursuits, and in this way are constantly forcing the poor classes of white citizens on a level with themselves, and greatly injure their character and efficiency as workmen,

and their elevated standing as citizens. In fine, this monopoly of mechanical labor which exist in some places in favor of the free negro, because of the reduced price of his labor, beget a dependence upon him, of the poor white mechanic, and operates powerfully from an identity of condition.

"But the existence of the free negroes among us, operates immorally by another process. Our children are necessarily nursed by, and to a certain extent raised with the slave. The latter is now subject to a two-fold influence, that of the master, and that of the free negro. Between the master and slave, as a general rule, there is a repellant power, and the slave is ruled by force, and will avoid all he can the power by which he is enslaved; while he is attracted to a certain extent to the free negro, from similarity of condition. In this manner all the immorality of the free negro is transferred to the offspring of the free white citizen, to operate as an antagonist to the morals, conduct, example, precepts and improvements of the parent. It will not be denied, but that ignorance is productive—indeed, the ever certain and prolific parent of immorality and every evil quality. Such is emphatically the condition of the free negro. Hardly a session of the Legislature passes, that some law is not enacted, restricting them in their rights and privileges. In fact, their present condition is one of both mental and physical incarceration, or enchaining; or they are now existing in a social dungeon, and every act of the Legislature, renders that dungeon more dismal, damp and gloomy. Their situation also renders them inimical to the white man of elevated standing; whether that standing proceed from wealth or other causes, and imparting their disposition to the slave, there is produced a perpetual estrangement between master and servant—and although this estrangement be secret and unseen,—yet its effects are felt and operate forcibly. Such a condition renders the state of the slave worse than it otherwise would be—and is preparing and maturing materials, which, upon the most favourable opportunity, will explode with the most destructive consequences.

"But if the free negro be immoral in character, or rather, if that be the fruit of his existence among us, it is daily increased, just in proportion to the increase of their number. Thus a degree of immorality, which, in one man, would be unobserved or not injurious, would in a multitude be ruinous. And these creatures are speedily gaining upon the white population in number, and thereby every thing worthless, useless, slavish, hostile, immoral and destructive in the social system, is rapidly subduing and bringing to their own level every thing that ought to be excellent, peaceful, moral and improving.

"There are doubts entertained by some, as to the constitutional power of the Legislature, to cause the removal of the free negroes. This is certainly a dangerous doctrine: if it should prevail and impress itself upon the public mind, it might lead to the most injurious consequences. It would add to the stability of the condition of the free negroes, and give to them more boldness in their views and plans of evil, and add to the activity, efficiency and certainty of their action. While the white population would become more timid and uncertain in their views and conduct, and placed almost at the mercy of the free negro, and particularly, when the free negro is so rapidly increasing upon them in number. But the prevalence of the opinion that it was unconstitutional to remove them against their consent, would be attended with other most pernicious consequences. It would neutralize the efforts, to a certain extent, of the white population for intellectual, moral and other improvements, by producing an action of timidity in the operations of the white man; and by the increase of their numbers more rapidly than that of the free white citizen; immorality is rapidly gain-

ing upon morality—just as a river of limpid water is polluted and contaminated by the waters of a larger river pouring ceaselessly into it.

"This last is our condition at this time, throughout the state, but more particularly in the lower counties. There is a struggle for the mastery in morals, and all that is good and excellent, on the part of the white man; and all that is ignorant, and consequently, immoral, on the part of the free coloured man. No man can doubt for a moment, as to the result, and more particularly, when there is so rapid an increase of the free coloured man, and so rapid a decrease of the free white man.

"The result of this contest for the mastery between the free coloured population, and the free white population, may be showed by a very simple though certain illustration, indeed it is a demonstration. Suppose two rivers or rather runs, one of which is a stream of water called pure, but having impurities, with an irresistible tendency to impurity—a tendency as certain as the upward flight of the spark. The other stream is wholly foul and polluted, with a tendency to greater impurity irresistible, and that tendency increases by casting in constant materials to increase the polluting quality. Now the impure stream is rapidly increasing in the bulk of its waters, while the pure stream is with equal rapidity decreasing. Can any man doubt as to the *result*, that the polluted stream will speedily destroy the purer one,—and this is our condition at this moment, or the condition of the two distinct races among us, or that compose our society, that are free. But the committee would contend that they are not citizens, nor are they half or demi-citizens. There cannot be such a condition as a half citizen, because you cannot carve out, or divide, or give away in part, or break in pieces, the rights which form the social compact. They are one and inseparable. If a man enters our community and we grant him the privilege of remaining on certain conditions, he is not strictly a citizen, but is the creature of the social compact. He is dependent upon its action, and has his privileged being from that source. If he were to violate the privilege granted him, he could be respectfully expelled.

"This is believed to be the condition of the free negroes. They were allowed to have freedom on the grounds of their benefit—because freedom is considered a blessing, and generally produces blessings. In this case, however, the object of the law has failed; they are in a worse condition than when in a state of slavery, and they are of a decided injury to those who have given them their freedom; an injury in a moral, civil, political, intellectual, and agricultural point of view. The law then giving them liberty to remain here with certain privileges has signally failed, and on that ground its repeal and their expulsion would be justified.

"But then they do not derive their rights from the Constitution. They had no part in the formation of our government. They are not members of our community. They enjoy no rights of citizens; and those which they do enjoy, are more of the natural right than that of the citizen: and it is certainly a phenomenon in legislation, that a race of individuals should be found holding their natural rights, by the consent of the people among whom they live. It is certainly a first principle in law, that the power which creates must ever uncreate. The free negroes have their *independent existence*, by the consent of the government of Maryland; and that government has the right at any time to *repeal* the *law* giving them their separate existence, or their special privileges. It would be perhaps the strangest anomaly ever heard of, that a government should not have the power to repeal an act which it had passed for a specific purpose—and that too, when the *act* had signally *failed* to accomplish the *purpose* of its creation.

"The free negroes are the creatures of the law—the beings of special

statutes, and not members of the body politic. We constantly pass acts taking away a portion of their privileges—and it would be extraordinary, if we cannot take away the whole, when we take away a part.

"The committee have reported a bill for the removal of the free negroes from Charles county. They propose by that bill to compel the negroes themselves, to aid in procuring means for their removal. They propose to sell them out until they shall have earned a sufficiency to transport them from the state, if they are found in the county after a certain time. This, they believe to be politic and humane. It is politic by relieving the county from the burthen of transportation; and humane, because their condition is made better by putting them to work, and there is something at the same time added to the general property of the State, as the fruits of their labour.

"The committee think that energetic efforts ought to be made for their removal. They believe, to incur some expense for their removal would be economy—because, it would improve the morals and mechanical skill of a certain class of our citizens, and would add to the general improvement of morals, and consequently to industry, and thence to wealth.

"The extracts from one of the Colonization Reports, and the experience of every one, conclusively shows, that their present condition is far worse than that of the slave, in morals, in the enjoyments of comfort, and indeed, in ease of life in old age. Then the committee would most respectfully urge their immediate removal, by the most energetic means, and the establishment of a permanent and efficient system of education—and the fruits of education will act without alloy for our social and moral improvement, and then will be fully amplified the truth and efficacy of the infallible maxim—*That knowledge re-produces morality—morality re-produces industry—industry re-produces wealth.*

ROBERT S. REEDER,
JOHN G. CHAPMAN, } *Committee.*"
JOHN D. FREEMAN,

"A BILL, *entitled, An Act to remove the Free People of Colour from Charles County.*

"SECTION 1. *Be it enacted, by the General Assembly of Maryland,* That all free coloured persons found in Charles county, after the first day of January, 1845, shall be arrested by the sheriff of Charles county, by and with the sanction and direction of the commissioners of said county, and hired out under the authority and direction of said commissioners, until they shall have earned by their labour, sufficient wages to transport them from said county.

"SEC. 2. *And be it enacted,* That all the free coloured people of said county, who are superannuated, or from any cause incapable of earning sufficient wages to transport them from the county, shall be permitted to remain during life.

"SEC. 3. *And be it enacted,* That if any free coloured person or persons, so superannuated or incapable of earning sufficiency of wages for their removal, should desire to leave the state at any time after the passage of this act, the commissioners of the county shall levy on the property, personal and real, of the county, a tax not exceeding five cents in the hundred dollars, for the purpose of their removal to any place beyond the limits of the state, to which they may desire to be removed, and for their location and settlement.

"SEC. 4. *And be it enacted,* That if any free coloured person shall be removed from the county, by means of wages earned according to the provisions of this act, the commissioners of the county shall levy a tax as stated

in the third section of this act, for the purpose of their location and settlement, in any place beyond the limits of the state, to which they may desire to be removed.

"Sec. 5. *And be it enacted*, That no free coloured person or persons, either leaving or being removed from Charles county, under the provisions of this act, shall enter or be removed to any section of country in this state, beyond the limits of Charles county, to remain longer than ten days.

"Sec. 6. *And be it enacted*, That if any free coloured person or persons shall enter or be removed to any section of country in this state, beyond the limits of Charles county, after the passage of this act, they shall be treated as are free coloured persons coming from another state or foreign jurisdiction into this state, or according to the discretion of the courts of justice of that section of country to which they may have removed, or which they may have entered.

"Sec. 7. *And be it enacted*, That after the passage of this act, no person, a citizen of Charles county, shall by deed or last will and testament, manumit any slave to remain in Charles county, or in any county or section of country of this state.

"Sec. 8. *And be it enacted*, That the commissioners of Charles county, shall be clothed with full authority to adopt any process for the most effectual execution of the provisions of this act, and select any agency they shall deem most efficacious and expedient for the transportation and settlement of the free coloured population of Charles county."

REVIEW OF MR. KENNEDY'S REPORT, IN THE BIBLICAL REPERTORY, OF JANUARY, 1844.

We notice with extreme gratification, that the conductors of this standard Religious Quarterly have fairly taken up the subject of African colonization, and treated it in a manner worthy of its merits, and of the high character which that publication sustains.

At any time, and under any circumstances, the publication of the article now before us would contribute greatly to the strength of the colonization cause, but coming as it does, immediately subsequent to the removal of the Presbyterian Missionaries from one of the Liberia colonies, which has given occasion to much scandal and abuse from the enemies of colonization, and even caused distrust on part of its friends, its importance can hardly be appreciated. In alluding to the subject of the difficulties, which caused the removal of the Mission from Cape Palmas, the Reviewer merely remarks: "It is not our purpose to inquire into the grounds of this misunderstanding, every such difference has two aspects, and we are too imperfectly acquainted with the circumstances of the case, to be impartial and intelligent judges of the matter. It is, however, deeply to be regretted, that such things should occur. But we trust that the providence of God will overrule it for greater good: for we learn, that Mr. Wilson's prospects in the new region to which he has carried the light of the Gospel are very promising."

After copying the Report and Resolutions of the Committee of Commerce, the Reviewer proceeds.

"Here the matter for the present rests, and whether the subject will be taken up by the present Congress, is altogether uncertain; but we expect very little from them except the expresion of a favourable opinion. Strong

opposition would be made to Congress assuming on themselves the government of those colonies. This opposition would arise from two opposite quarters, from the abolitionists, and from the pro-slavery men. It would come down with violence from the north, and would come up with equal violence from the south. And upon the whole, we are of opinion, that it would not be for the benefit of Liberia to become a colony of the United States. Such a political connexion would, no doubt, give great enlarge- to these infant colonies, but their character would be changed, and soon the lively interest of those philanthropic individuals, who have hitherto sustained this cause, would be lessened. Establishments of this kind never will succeed so well in the hands of political agents, as of those selected by a voluntary association, such as the American Colonization Society. If our Government should assume the direction of the affairs of Liberia, the inhabitants would no longer be actuated by the same spirit of enterprise and independence, which has characterized them in time past. No idea is dearer to them than that of becoming an independent nation. And we acknowlege, that it is our earnest wish, that Liberia may never become dedependent on any nation. Let it under Providence, become a great and virtuous republic. No nation, in its beginning, ever had a brighter prospect before it. Let the American Government become the ally and protector of these colonies. Let them assist them to complete the purchase of those portions of territory, the title of which has not yet been acquired from the natives, Let them avail themselves of the advantages which these colonies present, for prosecuting that valuable commerce, which is now opening to the world. And let them combine their efforts with those of other nations, in untiring efforts to suppress the slave trade; in which benevolent enterprise, they will find the Liberians their most efficient coadjutors. BUT LET LIBERIA FOR EVER BE FREE. The greatest difficulties attending the establishment of a colony are already overcome. We do entertain the confident and pleasing expectation, that Liberia is destined to be a grand republic, which shall extend its benign influence into the very centre of the dark continent of Africa. And we do believe that it is the design of a wise and benignant Providence, to make Liberia, the asylum of the whole African race, now dispersed over a large part of this continent, and the West India Islands. In our view, there is no spot on the globe better calculated to interest the Christian and the philanthropist, than this little republic on the Western coast of Africa. *When the future historian shall survey the events and revolutions of the first half of the nineteenth century, we are of opinion, that his eye will fix with intense interest on the bold, but benevolent enterprise, of colonizing the free people of colour on the coast of Africa. And that such an enterprise should have been undertaken by a voluntary association, without the co-operation of the Government; and that it should have been successful, will be a subject of wonder to future ages. It is our sincere persuasion, that no event which has occurred in the world since the commencement of the nineteenth century is it all equal, in real importance, to the successful establishment of this little colony. We do not think that the history of the world can furnish a parallel to the accomplishment of this work by a voluntary association of benevolent men.*"

The Reviewer then proceeds to give an historical and geographical description of the Liberian colonies, the productions of the soil, agriculture, commerce, government, &c. &c. quoting largely from documents which we have, from time to time, laid before our readers in the columns of this Journal. It closes with the following candid remarks, to which we wish particularly

to call the attention of our readers. A few paragraphs we have taken the liberty to italicise, as in the former quotation.

"As we do not think it necessary to offer any arguments in vindication of the colonization cause, nor to notice the objections made to the enterprise by its enemies, we have endeavoured to place before our readers as many well authenticated facts, relating to the little colonies planted on the coast of Africa, as we could conveniently introduce into our limited space, in a single article. Indeed, these facts are superior to all theoretical reasonings. They show what has, under the auspices of Divine Providence, been effected by the Colonization Societies of this country. And we believe, a parallel cannot be produced from the history of the world. As to the enemies of African Colonization, whether abolitionists, or the defenders of slavery as a state in itself desirable, we could not hope to obviate their prejudices. We leave them to the undisturbed enjoyment of their own opinions, and their own schemes of benevolence. That their opposition has been entirely unprovoked, and most unreasonable in itself, we cannot for a moment doubt. *The American Colonization Society has no direct or immediate concern with slavery. It does not attempt to put into execution any plan for the emancipation of slaves. It is a scheme for people already free—its objects must be in a state of freedom before they can have, as a society, any thing to do with them. If other people choose to form societies which contemplate the emancipation of slaves, this does not interfere with the plans of the friends of colonization. If their plans are wise and good, the colonization of people already free will not interfere with them nor impede their operations. If they can do any good to the slave and better his condition, let them do it; the colonization enterprise has nothing to do with that subject.* But the great objection of anti-slavery men is, that it is not an abolition society. It would be just as reasonable to object that an agricultural society is not an abolition society. The American Colonization Society has as little to do directly with slavery, as any agricultural society. That indirectly the colonization of the free people of colour may have an influence on emancipation, not to hinder, but to promote it, is not only believed, but known to be a fact. Many of the happy and free citizens of Liberia are there by the indirect operation of the society. And this is one of the most amiable features of the plan. In the slave-holding states there are many slave-holders willing to sacrifice their own interest in their slaves, if they could only see a way by which they could be disposed of to their own benefit. The laws of those states require all emancipated slaves to be sent out of the state; but whither could they be sent? *Nobody that has contemplated the wretched condition of four-fifths of the free people of colour, in our northern cities and towns, could desire to see their number increased.* Until Liberia opened an asylum, to which emancipated slaves could be sent, persons actuated by pure benevolence to their slaves, could not consent to their emancipation. But now such persons, if correctly informed respecting these colonies, may with freedom give liberty to their slaves; believing, that in Africa they may enjoy, if they conduct themselves well, all the immunities and blessings of free citizens, and be exempt from the influence of all those circumstances which in this country keep them in a state of degradation and wretchedness. Liberty is not absolutely a blessing in all circumstances. To those capable of using it discreetly, it is a rich boon; but to emancipated slaves left in this country, it is no blessing, but rather a curse. The disposition in masters to send their slaves to Liberia, has gone on increasing with the progress of the colonies in Africa, so that there always have been more offered than could be sent. And had it not been for false reports respecting the state of these colonies,

which have been industriously circulated through the length and breadth of the land, the number which would have been offered to the society, would have been greater than it has been. The pecuniary sacrifice made by some of those who have sent their slaves to Liberia to enjoy liberty in the land of their forefathers, is truly remarkable. No doubt Mr. McDonogh, of Louisiana, could have sold the slaves which he recently sent to Africa, for $40,000. And these benevolent men not only give up, without compensation, their slaves, but carefully prepare them for their new condition, and supply them with those things necessary to render the voyage comfortable, and to commence their agricultural labours with advantages, in Liberia.

"If the vast sums which have been uselessly expended by the anti-slavery societies, had been appropriated to the redemption of slaves, and to their transportation to Africa; it would have appeared to far better advantage, on the page of impartial history, than all that they have accomplished. The sums which within a few years they have expended, would have been sufficient to purchase all the territory which is needed to complete the possession of the rising republic of Liberia. But let them apply their money according to their own views; the friends of colonization do not wish to interfere with them; and they have a right to demand that other societies do not interfere with them; and especially, that they forbear to calumniate a cause, which we believe to be pleasing to God, and calculated to be a greater blessing to the African race, than all other schemes which have ever been devised.

"And as to those who are opposed to the enterprise, because they are of opinion that the institution of slavery is a blessing to any country, the American Colonization Society does not attempt to interfere with their opinions or possessions. Surely they have no right to object to a plan, the object of which is to meliorate the condition of the free coloured population of this country. They cannot believe that these people are in a condition to benefit our country, or to enjoy the blessings of free citizens, in this land. And those persons, among slave-holders, who entertain an entirely different opinion of slavery, in the abstract, and believe it to be a moral and political evil of vast magnitude, from which every state should endeavour, as soon as possible, to free itself, should not be prevented from emancipating their slaves and sending them to a happy colony, planted in the land of their forefathers.

"Though we have not had much agency in the colonization scheme, yet we have carefully examined its principles, and observed its progress, from the beginning, and are free to declare, *that we believe it to be the most important enterprise, commenced in any part of the world, since we began life; and that the success which has attended it, considering the feebleness of the means and scantiness of the resources of the society, is one of the most extraordinary events in the history of the world.* And believing, that it has had and still enjoys the smiles of heaven, we feel a strong confidence of its ultimate success. And, however extravagant the opinion may appear to many, we do firmly hope, that the whole of the African race, on this Continent and the West India Islands, will, sooner or later, be transported to Africa; and that the little state of Liberia, will be the germ of a great and glorious republic, which will be the means of regenerating that dark and miserable continent. And that by means of these colonies, now in their infancy, the light of the glorious gospel of Jesus Christ will be made to shine into the inmost recesses of her unknown regions, and into every dark corner of that immense country, now full of the habitations of cruelty.

"We entertain these views, because we have been acquainted with the sentiments of the founders of this society, and have the fullest conviction,

that the scheme owed its origin to the purest Christian benevolence. We have never detected any lurking principle of iniquity or selfishness, in the whole operations of the American Colonization Society. A more purely philanthropic scheme, in its origin and progress, we have never known. And though at first, we apprehended that the enterprise would be found impracticable, and on that account our own zeal was faint; yet now we are persuaded, that the plan of colonizing the free people of colour in Africa, is founded in wisdom, as well as philanthropy; and therefore we believe, that, maugre all opposition, it will prevail. Reader, help on this noble cause. Now it needs your help. Contribute to its success, and you will be richly repaid."

NEW SYSTEM OF COLONIZATION.

In an abstract of the proceedings of the Bale Missionary Society, communicated by the European correspondent of the New York Observer, we find the following important paragraph:

"Mr. Hoffman announces the intention of the committee to found a *missionary colony* on the Western coast of Africa. It will transport to this colony blacks from Jamaica or other islands, and these blacks will receive lands to cultivate, houses to live in, and means of subsistence for the first year. It will be copying the work you have done in the United States by your *Colonization Society*. Perhaps it is the best means of succeeding finally to evangelize the interior of Africa."

"Mr. Hoffman," says the correspondent, "is one of the most eminent men who have been employed in this work; he possesses deep piety, and extensive learning, and his influence is greatly blessed." Let it be remembered also that this African Mission is no new thing with the Bale Missionary Society. Their missionaries have been actively operating on that coast for more than sixteen years. They were in Liberia in the days of Ashmun. The intelligent director, Mr. Hoffman, well knows from long experience that our text is true, *that Africa can be regenerated and christianized only by her own children.*

It was only in our last No. that we copied a long and able article from Dr. Bond, in which he arrived at the same conclusion. In fact every one who thinks at all upon the subject, with the experience of the past before him, must come to this conclusion. It is not only that the descendants of Africa shall be the instruments under Providence of civilizing that land, but it must be through the agency of colonies, of governments, with political and civil institutions, agricultural and mechanical arts, and in fact, with all which appertains to the civilization of the nineteenth century in the most favoured lands. If the christianity of civilization is to be introduced, civilization must be introduced along with it. This move of the Bale Mission is but one of the many occurrences of the present day which point out the importance of this system of colonization, and maugre all the apathy of its professed friends, and the scandal and abuse of its enemies, IT MUST AND WILL PROSPER.

The ground has long since been taken by those who have thought most, and laboured most, for the suppression of the SLAVE TRADE, that this grand

moral desideratum can only be obtained by planting colonies of civilized Africans along that coast: in fact, by COLONIZATION, as practised by the American Colonization Societies.—The fact too, is well established, that what little we do enjoy of the extensive and growing COMMERCE of the West Coast of Africa, comes mainly through the American colonies—and that if we would secure a permanent and growing interest in that trade, it must be done by extending and patronizing them.—If a state wishes to remove her free coloured population, she can only do it with credit to herself, and to the advantage and interest of both races, through the agency of *colonization—African* colonization?—If individuals, moved by high considerations, are disposed, literally and effectually, to set the bondman *free;* how can they do so, unless they are placed in a free land, to them the only free land under heaven, the colonies of Liberia?—And where shall the *nominally* free man of colour hope for true FREEDOM, for EQUALITY, except in that land, that HOME prepared through the instrumentality of *colonizationists?*—

In fact, every scheme calculated to effect good to Africa, or the African, points to colonization as the only medium of successful operation. Verily, the man who speaks or acts against an institution, capable of effecting so much good, incurs an awful responsibility.

AMALGAMATION.—We learn, that a white servant girl was married in this city yesterday, by a justice of the peace, to a black man. The couple, we are told, applied to nearly or quite all the clergymen here, and in Bridgeport, to legalize the union, but they all declined the honor, when the knot was tied by the justice. "Every one to his taste." We do not learn where the happy couple spend the honey-moon.—*New Haven Palladium, Friday.*

The above paragraph, it will be seen, is taken from a New Haven paper, and the transactions therein detailed occurred in the good State of Connecticut, the hot-bed of modern abolitionism. We re-publish it, merely, to shew what progress has been made by Garrettson, Tappan & Co. in bringing about the millenial period of black and white amalgamation.

AFRICAN COMMERCE IN 1788.

We copy the following paragraph from the September number of the Pennsylvania Mercury of the above year. Although their notions of African trade were exceedingly crude, yet it shews that there was, at that period, a spirit of improvement and enterprise abroad in the land, quite different from that of the present day. Congress then consisted not of a gang of brawling politicians, intent only on supporting "party" and securing re-election.

What would our patriotic forefathers of '88 think of our present degenerate Congress, who refuse to do any thing to protect a commerce already formed

with Africa, through *individual* enterprise, and protected and fostered by *associated* philanthrophy.

"We are informed by a correspondent, that Congress intends giving encouragement to the raising of Sugar and making Rum, on the coast of Africa, with a view of bartering American manufactures for the same. If we consider, there are not one-hundredth part of the inhabitants of the earth that use Sugar, and that all savages are fond of Rum, we cannot get better articles in payment for the goods we manufacture, as we can barter away the Rum and Sugar in payment for furs and skins with the inhabitants of the remotest parts of the globe, to the greatest advantage, provided we could not consume the same at home ourselves. If Congress can effect a thing of this kind, it will be acting a more friendly part by the Africans than the Europeans have done."

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